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THE BURUSHASKI LANGUAGE

BY

LT. COL. D. L. R. LORIMER

VOL. I

INTRODUCTION AND GRAMMAR

WITH A PREFACE BY G. MORGENSTIERNE

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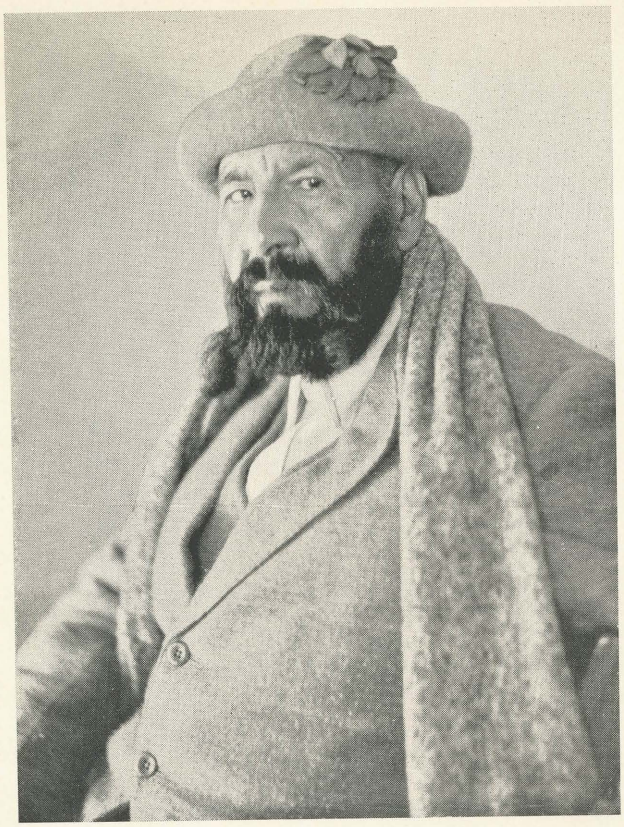

Ja ayˈɛrum šuguˈlu.ər
Hunzu.ɛ Thʌm
SIR MUHAMMAD NAZĪM KHĀN, K. C. I. E.,
buˈṭ guˈnˈɛˈčo kɛ da niˈrɛ.i suˈyʌs haˈkımʌn,
šuˈlbʌlikıš kɛ da mɛhərbaˈn soˈmu.ʌn.
ˈinɛ kuyoˈčɛ ɛtʌs itɛ baˈšɛ nɛtʌn ja girmiˈnum
gutɛ kıtaˈp
buˈṭ ʌdʌpɛ ka ɛˈr oˈša ba.

Gutɛ bərɛ hai.ˈʌn mʌnˈiˈš nusɛn
kɛ mi yərum šuguleˈyɛ gəruˈrumkuš
mi čəraˈṭi nimiˈmʌn toˈrimi dɛˈnɛ iˈlji
dˈərum jiˈndo kɛ di.ˈayum
duwaˈsum bila.

To my dear Friend,
SIR MUHAMMAD NAZIM KHAN, K. C. I. E.,
Tham of Hunza,
A wise and humane ruler,
And a sincere and kind friend,
With great respect I present this description of
the Language of his People.

May it be a token that our old friendship still survives
After ten years of separation.

Mr. Shaw's proposal for "An Analysis of the Scotch Celtic Language" were thus illuminated by the pen of Johnson:

"Though the Erse Dialect of the Celtic language has, from the earliest times, been spoken in Britain, and still subsists in the northern parts and adjacent islands, yet, by the negligence of a people rather warlike than lettered, it has hitherto been left to the caprice and judgement of every speaker, and has floated in the living voice, without the steadiness of analogy, or direction of rules. An Erse Grammar is an addition to the stores of literature; and its authour hopes for the indulgence always shown to those who attempt to do what was never done before. If his work shall be found defective, it is at least all his own: he is not like other grammarians, a compiler or transcriber; what he delivers, he has learned by attentive observation among his countrymen, who perhaps will be themselves surprized to see that speech reduced to principles which they have used only by imitation".

"The use of this book will, however, not be confined to the mountains and islands: it will afford a pleasing and important subject of speculation, to those whose studies lead them to trace the affinity of languages, and the migrations of the ancient races of mankind".

Boswell's Life of Samuel Johnson LL.D.
(Under date April 4, 1777).

INTRODUCTION.

THE LAND and the PEOPLE.

Burushaski, the main subject of the present work, is spoken in the States of Hunza and Nagir, which give a name to that tangle of snow-crowned mountains, long-drawn glaciers and deep-cut river beds that form the western extremities of the Karakoram and Kailās ranges of the Geographers. In elevation and ruggedness the tract may compare with any other portion of the earth's surface. The ground covered by the twin States is roughly defined by the lines 74° 10′ and 75° 40′ of East longitude and 36° and 37° 10′ of North latitude. Of this area the bulk falls to Hunza. Hunza marches on the North with Afghan and Chinese territory, from which it is divided by an immense mountain barrier traversable only by a few very high passes — the Irshad (16,060 ft.), the Kilik (15,600), the Mintaka (15,430) and the Khunjerāb.

The southern drainage from this range quickly assembles a few miles below Misgār to form the Hunza river, which proceeds southwards through the Hèrber or Gujhāl valley, or rather gorge. On its way the river receives reinforcement by tributaries from either side — the principal being the Batūra and Pasu glaciers on the West and the Shīmshāl valley on the East. About 15 miles East of Baltit, the capital of Hunza, the river changes to a general westerly course, and level with Baltit it receives on its left bank the waters of the Nagir river which represent the meltings of the

Hīspār, Barpu and other large glaciers. Henceforth until Chalt is reached, where it turns South, the river forms the boundary between Hunza on the North and Nagir on the South. Chalt itself and the Chaprōt valley which debouches into it belong to Nagir. Otherwise Nagir is confined, generally speaking, to the valley of the Hispar glacier and Nagir river and the northern slopes of the Kailas range, the crest of which forms the dividing line between it and Gilgit.

On the extreme East Hunza marches with the Oprang valley in Chinese territory and southwards with Baltistan, but the mountain range which separates these regions is scarcely surmountable (v. Text XXVIII). On the extreme West again, Hunza and Nagir territory terminates on a lofty range which runs roughly North and South and is only traversable with difficulty by a couple of passes, the Chillinji (17,000 ft.) and the Daintar (15,210). Beyond lies the sparsely-inhabited valley of Ishkoman, which again is bounded on its western side by a North and South range of mountains on the further side of which is situated the Wershigūm valley, known officially as the Yasīn ʿIlāqa. This Wershigum valley is the habitat of the Werchikwār language, a variant form of Burushaski, to which brief reference is made in this work.

From the West of Hunza to the East of Wershigum is as the crow flies a mere 20 or 30 miles, but the traveller will spend six days and cover some 115 miles in making his way from Chalt via Gilgit and Gupis to Yasin. Such is this country where cross-country travel is impossible and practicable routes can be found only by following the natural lines of least resistance, and that not without pain.

I have now placed our language on the map, approximately, but greater precision is required. In the first place we have to take account of the fact that the bulk of Hunza and the eastern portion of Nagir are uninhabited and uninhabitable. Permanent population exists only on the elevated terraces that skirt in places the sides of the river valleys.

In the second place we have to note that the population of Hunza and Nagir is neither linguistically nor ethnologically homogeneous. Viewing the territories as a whole, Burushaski occupies only a limited central position. It is legitimate perhaps to see in this an indication that the country has been subject to more or less peaceful penetration from the periphery, but that it has never been overwhelmed by any flood of conquest or organised immigration. We may picture Burushaski as here standing at bay — a language which has once covered a much larger area and has gradually been driven in on its least assailable territory, or has been displaced and pushed back to a final refuge.

The country with its physical savageness and poverty could never have attracted the ambition or cupidity of any sane conqueror, and with easier routes available to the West there is little reason to believe that any serious invader has traversed or even penetrated it in force. Against this argument, however, are to be set the efforts of the Dogras of Jammu and Kashmir to penetrate and master the country in the nineteenth century. Their aim was doubtless to strengthen their position in Gilgit.

The relative strengths of the languages current in Hunza and Nagir are set out in the following tables, which are based on figures collected for the 1931 Census, and on the results of private enquiries as to the language spoken in each individual village.

District	Number speaking			Total Population 1931 Census
	Burushaski	Shinā	Wakhi	
Hunza . . .	9,938	1,184	2,411	13,533
Nagir . . .	10,362	3,293	—	13,655
Total . . .	20,300	4,477	2,411	27,188

To obtain the absolute total numbers of known Burushaski-speakers 513 must be added to the total of the first column on

account of 512 Burushaski-speakers recorded in the 1931 Census as resident in the Gilgit Wazarat, and one as resident in North Kashmir. The total thus becomes 20,813 [1].

The local distribution of these linguistic groups has now to be considered. On examination it will be found that they fall in the main within definite and unbroken geographical limits. In Hunza from the North southwards down the Herber valley, to and including Galmit the population are Wakhis, speaking Wakhi, with the exception of the inhabitants of Khudāabād (population 97), Nazīmābād (82) and Misgār (174). Proceeding down, southwards and westwards, through Hunza, the rest of the population are Burushaski-speaking with the exception of the two villages, Hīndi (977) and Māyūn (207) whose primary language is Shinā.

In Nagir there are no Wakhi-speakers, but the Burushaski-Shina dividing line falls at practically the same point as in Hunza, viz. at Mīnapin opposite Hindi. From and including Minapin down the valley, with the exception of Sikandarābād (406, a recent settlement) and Chalt (587), the people of Nagir are primarily Shina-speakers.

It is to be remarked, however, that these radical linguistic distinctions are to a large extent masked, if not superficially deleted, by bilingualism. I believe that all Shina-speakers of both Hunza and Nagir readily understand and speak Burushaski. This is not so with the Wakhis, of whom only a few know the language of their neighbours. On the other hand the Wakhis have imposed their own language on the Burusho settled in Shimshal, and Wakhi elements are to be found in place-names in all the northern part of the country.

How far do these linguistic divisions represent also ethnic divisions? Are the Wakhi-speakers (Guwīcho, sg. Guīts, Guwiˑčo, Gu.iˑts), the Burushaski-speakers (Burūsho, sg. Burūshīn, Buruˑšo, Buruˑšiˑn) and the Shina-speakers (sg. and pl. Shèn, Ṣɛˑn) to be regarded as racially distinct peoples?

[1] The figure 26,076 given in the Kashmir Census Report 1931, Vol. XXV p. 237, appears to be incorrect. It is still incorrect if the figures for Werchikwar are taken into account.

In the first case the answer is easy. The Wakhis are certainly of totally distinct stock from the Burusho. Much more difficult is the question of the relation of the Burusho and the Shina-speakers. My visual impressions would lead me to regard the Shèn of lower Nagir as an essentially different people from the Burusho of Hunza. They seem to me to represent a distinctly lower type in regard to apparent mentality and sanitary ideals. A large proportion of the child-population of Minapin and the villages below it are cretinous in appearance and dirty in person. I have not had an opportunity of comparing the people of the Hunza Shèn villages of Hindi and Mayun, either with their Nagir *vis à vis* or with their Burusho fellow-"nationals". How far again is there any difference between the Burusho of Hunza and the Burusho of Nagir? That is a question which I cannot answer from any adequate personal observation; but it is the general impression among European visitors that there is a marked difference in temperament between the two peoples. The Hunza Burusho are felt to be a happy and cheerful people, their Nagir counterparts give an impression of something approaching sombreness and depression. This alleged difference is attributed to the effect of living respectively on the sunny and on the shady, in winter almost sunless, side of the valley. It might also be in part attributable to political conditions or religious outlook.

There is a further criterion which is of dubious value, but may be worth brief mention here. In 1924 I took a number of anthropometrical measurements of men of all parts of the Gilgit Political Agency. The subjects were members of the Gilgit corps of Scouts, and so were all men in their prime, mostly in early manhood. These measurements were recorded uninstructedly according to an antiquated scheme of Topinard's and modern experts have judged them not worth wasting time and labour on, but they were taken on a consistent technique and are therefore comparable among themselves. I shall quote here only measurements which, in the nature of things, it seems probable are reasonably correct. The figures given are averages obtained by dividing the sum total of measurements in each case by the number of subjects.

District	Number of Subjects	Head Measurements in Centimetres			Cephalic Index	Height in Feet & Ins.
		Ant.-Posterior Diameter	Transverse Diameter	Frontal Minimum		
Hunza . .	138	19·135	14·833	10·423	76·834	5′ $6\frac{6}{11}$″
Nagir . .	152	19·411	14·256	9·536	73·424	5′ $5\frac{1}{2}$″
Yasin . .	78	19·035	14·788	10·413	77·714	5′ $6\frac{1}{20}$″
Gilgit . .	40	19·362	14·493	10·075	74·931	5′ $4\frac{15}{16}$″
Astor . .	43	19·005	14·494	10·197	76·306	5′ $3\frac{1}{2}$″
Punial . .	65	19·165	14·611	10·342	76·286	5′ $5\frac{12}{13}$″
Kuh-Ghizer	78	19·099	14·791	10·217	77·432	5′ $5\frac{10}{11}$″

Without allowing too much importance to these figures, we may tentatively accept a considerable difference between the Hunza and Nagir subjects in cephalic index and its factors, in frontal minimum and in height. The Nagir type seems to approximate to the Gilgit type, while the Hunza type approaches to that of Yasin. These conclusions receive further support from a detailed examination of the figures. I have plotted the numbers under each figure of the anterior-posterior and transverse diameters of the head, and of the height, and very similar curves are yielded by the Hunza and Yasin records; and the same holds of the Nagir and Gilgit records.

My own visual impressions, however, for what they are worth, would suggest that in physique and feature there is a perceptible difference between the Burushaski-speakers of Hunza and the Werchikwar-speakers of Yasin. It is to be noted that both the Hunza and Nagir subjects are almost entirely Burusho; only a few individuals of those measured came from the Shina-speaking villages. This difference in the attitude to a very mild form of militarism may indicate an inherent difference of temperament. On the other hand it may be due to economic or other unsuspected causes.

Cephalic Index	Height in Feet & Ins.
76·834	5′ $6\frac{6}{11}$″
73·424	5′ $5\frac{1}{2}$″
77·714	5′ $6\frac{1}{20}$″
74·931	5′ $4\frac{15}{16}$″
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Among the vast and savage mountains of the Western Karakoram, which are generally devoid of a blade of grass, and of which the surface by falls of cliff and boulders, the slipping of detritus, and the downpouring of mud-floods, is kept in a constantly raw and unstable state, nature has made it possible for a small population to maintain itself, in the sweat of its brow, by agriculture and the pasturing of small cattle.

Terraces, apparently the remains of glacial deposits, supplemented it may be by downpourings from the mountain sides, have been left here and there along the sides of the valleys of the main rivers, at a height usually of some hundreds of feet above their stony beds. Where water for irrigation can be obtained from side-ravines these tracts can be cultivated. Without irrigation no cultivation is possible. There are no rain-watered cereal crops and water cannot be raised from the main river. The surface of these terraces is not flat, but slopes down at every kind of angle from the hillsides till the terraces end in abrupt earth-cliffs descending to the river beds. As the ground has to be irrigated it also has to be more or less levelled, otherwise all the soil would soon be washed away. This is accomplished by constructing terraced fields, the lower edges of which are supported by revetting walls built up of the rounded stones available in the diluvium. This revetting is highly skilled work, and is beautifully carried out, and maintained in perfect repair by the Hunzukuts. The Nagirkuts seem on the whole to be less strenuous workers and less tidy-minded cultivators.

There remains the task of constructing channels to bring water from where it is available, often miles away. These channels are designed with precision and executed with great resource and ingenuity, often being carried on revetted or galleried aqueducts across cliff faces. Having made your land and brought your water, it still remains to elaborate a system of distributing the water among the various communities or individuals entitled to a share of it.

Pressure of population in recent years has led to constant endeavours to devise means of providing water supplies for tracts of waterless but cultivable land. Where land and water have been

brought together, the following are the principal crops grown in Hunza and Nagir: wheat, barley, two or three kinds of millet, buckwheat, broad beans, peas and various pulses, lucerne (yielding two crops) for fodder. Maize and rice are not grown at these levels[1]. Lucerne is often grown on the sloping unterraced hillside where water is insufficient for crops. Fruit is also an important item of cultivation. The apricot is universal, and fresh and dry the fruit is a staple food. Besides its kernels are collected and eaten, or crushed for their oil. Apples, peaches, cherries, cherry-plums and grapes are also extensively grown, but do not appear to be dried, though apples and grapes are stored in straw for some months. Pears, pomegranates and walnuts are cultivated in places. The mulberry is eaten fresh and is also dried and preserved. Poplars and willows are grown for their timber, and in the lower tracts the chenar.

Agricultural crops and fruit would not however provide a complete subsistence. Goats, sheep and a small type of cow supply the necessary milk and fat products, particularly ghee, also hair for ropes and coarse cloth, wool for clothing, skins and hides for containing vessels, foot-wear and thongs. These cattle are kept in the villages during the cool and cold weather, when they are fed on such scanty natural grazing as is to be found, agricultural waste and dried leaves, and pay their way by providing milk and manure. During the hot months they are sent up in charge of herds to the few summer grazing-grounds (tēr, pl. tērming; teʳr, teʳrmiŋ), which exist in the higher parts of some of the nullahs. There their milk is collected and converted into forms in which it will keep: ghee, dried buttermilk etc.

[1] I.e. from about 7000′ upwards, Chhalt, the lowest village in the country, stands at 6560′. Māyūn and Hīndi are probably about 7000′ and Aliābād about 7500′. Baltit is 8000′ and Nagir 7550′. Misgār, the highest place at which the Burusho have been induced to live, is 10.158′. It is said that the Burusho women refuse to go where the apricot will not ripen, and there are few Burusho settled above 8000′. In Chupūrsan and Shīmshāl the Wakhis are found up to about 11.000′, which is probably the extreme limit at which barley will grow in this region. In recent years a little maize has been grown in Māyūn, Murtazāabād and Ganish.

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These various subjects of general interest and activity postulate the existence of a large vocabulary relating to agricultural processes, implements and products; irrigation, fruit culture and the management of live stock and the treatment of their products.

Crafts.

Any people who are in the main self-supporting must have developed, and must command, a number of essential crafts. Here it is only possible to enumerate very briefly the principal crafts practised by the Burusho. They include:

Building: wall-building without mud; house building, stone-and-mud walls and mud-plastering.

Woodwork: supporting pillars, roofing timber, shaped and unshaped, door-frames, doors and windows. Agricultural implements: ploughs and various forms of wooden shovel and pitchfork; wooden bowls and spoons. Wearing and milling apparatus.

Spinning: hair and woollen thread and twisting into yarn and ropes.

Weaving: woollen home-spun for clothing; hair-cloth for bags and mats.

Basketwork of willow twigs: various forms of baskets and creels.

Preparing skins: for bags for grain etc. and for holding water, milk etc.; also thongs, foot-wrappers and boots.

Metal work: a little iron-work.

Sewing: clothes.

Milling: water-mills are used for grinding flour.

Salt-washing: a method of obtaining salt from saline earth by dissolving it out is sometimes practised.

Gold-washing: the river sand is washed to extract gold-dust. This is done for the Tham of Hunza at certain places, by the lower classes only. I do not know that it is practised privately.

Wine-making and distilling: the latter is now prohibited.

Imports.

The Burusho are dependent on the outside world for their supply of metals and in general for all metal manufactures, e.g. plough-

shares, sickles, shovel-blades, axes, adze-heads and cooking-pots. A few aluminium vessels may now be seen in the hands of the peasants. Any iron work done locally is done by the Bēricho (sg. Bērits; bʲeˑriˑčo, bʲeˑriˑts), corresponding to the Ḍoms of Gilgit, who provide the musicians and metal-workers of the community and are regarded as at the bottom of the social scale. They are probably, as elsewhere, of foreign (Indian?) origin. Carpentry, formerly also within the sphere of the Bericho, is now generally practised by individual Burusho.

Cotton cloth, now used by practically the whole population of both sexes for shirts and trousers, is imported. Some foreign shoes and sandals may also be seen. All the sugar and most of the salt used are also imported. Both are in demand and the import apparently does not satisfy the public desire, the cost being no doubt the obstacle.

Tailors and washermen form no part of the indigenous social scheme, but nowadays one or two men can be found who have some skill in these crafts acquired abroad.

Arts.

I have seen very little of decoration or ornamentation in any medium, nor any aesthetic production which could be classified under the heading of the plastic arts. Embroidery until very recently was practised only in the harems of the élite. The ordinary women who are free to pursue, in the open and unveiled, their domestic functions and many kinds of agricultural work, are sufficiently occupied to feel little urge to concern themselves with such elegant triflings, but the girls and young women, before and after marriage, embroider caps for themselves with taste and skill.

Occasional specimens of wood-carving are to be seen, chiefly in the derelict masjids.

Of the other arts, dancing is a traditional and living institution, and is still practised on ceremonial occasions by even the highest ranks of society. The accompanying music is, however, supplied by the despised Bēricho. Occasionally the notes of a flute in the hands of an amateur is heard and the sitār is known.

Sports.

Sports are represented by Polo for men who own or can borrow horses, and children's games. The women at certain seasons amuse themselves with games of ball and swinging.

Religion.

By religion the Burusko of Hunza are Muhammadans of the Isma'īli or, as they term it, Maulāi sect, to which, however, they were converted from Shia-ism only three generations ago.

With the Maulais, restrictions, formalities and ritual are reduced to a minimum. The masjids of the former Shia days have been abandoned, and have been replaced in recent years by "jamā'atkhānas". There are no mullahs of the ordinary type. Instead there are khalīfa (pl. khalīfātīng; xʌliˈfa, xʌliˈfaˈtiŋ), who are more servants of the public — being called in chiefly to perform the necessary ritual at marriages and funerals — than its spiritual leaders or teachers. Spiritual authority rests with the Pīr, in this case 'Abdul Ma'ni, son of the late Shahzada Lais of Chitral. He himself now lives in Zēbāk. He replaced the honoured Pir Jalāli Shah, latterly resident in Ishkoman, who died in February 1931. Two of the latter's daughters were taken in succession as his principal wife by the present Tham of Hunza, which affords an indication of the Pir's status in the country.

Religious observances and prescriptions do not play any very evident part in the life of the Burusho of Hunza, but this does not appear to have any prejudicial effect on their character or conduct. They seem to have firmly planted in them the root of morality and the social and domestic virtues. The Maulais pay tribute to the Agha Khan, the head of the sect. The Burusho of Nagir are Shiahs (pl. Shiātīng; ši.aˈtiŋ), a more rigorous and formal school, but they do not indulge in a fanatical interpretation of the duties and implications of religion. They mildly contemn the "moghuli" (Maulais) as misguided heretics and imperfect Muslims.

Social and Administrative Organisation.

The life of the people is based on the family, and then on the village or community groups which live within definite geographical

limits and were originally it seems centred round the *khan* (khʌn, fortress or strong-place). The general security of later times has led to the scattering of habitations seen in more recent settlements like Aliabad. Inside these village-units, such as Baltit, Altit, Ganish, Haidarabad etc. there survive the names of tribal or class divisions. How far these divisions play any significant part in the communal life of the present day is a subject that remains for investigation.

Society is recognised as divided into the following general classes:

1. Thamo: the Royal Family, including:
   i. the Karèli, the royally-born on both sides.
   ii. the Arghundaro, of commoner origin on the female side, but in Hunza children of wedlock.
2. Uyōngko or Akābirtīng — "The Great" — those who enjoy, or have the right to occupy, superior offices in the State, e.g. the posts of Wazīr, Trangfa, Yarpa and Farāj.

   These two classes do not work with their hands.
3. Bār, Bārè Sīs, — These cultivate their land and work with their own hands, but, if personally worthy, are eligible for appointment to posts by the Tham. They are not required to carry loads or perform any inferior class of work.
4. Ṣhadarsho — a large class who get their title ("servants") from their eligibility for employment by the Tham as couriers to convey notice of his movements, carry messages etc. They are exempted from menial labour. This class is increasing by recruitment from the next below.
5. Baldakūyo or Tsīlgalasho — these are liable to have to carry loads for the Tham and Uyongko, and to wash for gold. They are exempt from the payment of taxes. The Tsilgalasho are Baldakuyo who are in the employment of Uyongko families and then do not carry loads, but on quitting such employment they revert to the status and obligations of the Baldakuyo. The numbers of this class are declining. Their ascent into the ranks of the Ṣhadarsho is now controlled by the Tham; formerly it was in the hands of the Wazir and Trangfa.

6. Bērīcho — now of two classes:
   i. ēg̲herasho bērīcho — musicians who provide music on all public occasions.
   ii. ḍak ètasho bērīcho — blacksmiths.[1]

The functions of the Bericho are undergoing a process of extension. They now fetch firewood for the Tham and thorns for protecting enclosures. They also do plastering work for him. A few serve as sweepers. Their status is said to be rising. The Burusho will now eat food prepared by them, which they would not formerly do.

In both Hunza and Nagir the supreme power resides in an autocracy exercised by the Tham, or Mīr. The two royal families derive from a common source and are inter-related by subsequent marriages. This joint royal family claims to have come from Baltistan and to have been established in Hunza and Nagir for the last six hundred years.

Each village group is an administrative unit and the Tham is represented in it by one to three Uyōngko (Uyūmko) or Trangfāting (sg.s uyūm = *great*, trangfa). Under their direction these officials have Cherbuting (sg. cherbu, čərbu) who transmit orders to the public. Where the Tham owns land he has a steward, or personal representative, called a Yarpa, who again has subordinates under him to supervise the division of the water-supply.

For the settlement of cases and disputes of all kinds there is in Hunza a long progressive series of "courts", if one may use the term. First the case is dealt with by the heads of the two houses and the two families in conclave. Failing settlement it is referred to the Headman of the community (girāmè uyūm; giramɛ uyuˈm). Thirdly: again failing settlement, it is referred to the Headmen of the Four Clans (wālto girāmichīngè uyōngko; waˈlto giraˈmičiŋɛ uyoˈŋko) who proceed to the "gate" of the *khan* and adjudicate on it.

[1] The following are the phonetic renderings of the Burushaski words in the above paragraphs: 1. Thʌmo; kʌreˈli; ʌrɣˈundəro; 2. uyoˈŋko *or* uyuˈmko; akaˈbirtiŋ; wʌziˈr; trʌŋfa; yərpa; fʌraˈj; 3. baˈre sis; 4. ṣʌdəršo; 5. bʌldakuˈyo; tsilgʌlʌšo; 6. beˈričo; eˈɣərʌšo; ḍʌk ɛtʌšo.

Fourthly: even after this an aggrieved party may carry his suit to the gate of Baltit Fort, where it is heard by the four Headmen of Baltit and the Kaḍako. Fifthly: if he has still failed to obtain satisfaction he can next submit his case to the Wazir. Sixthly: If the Wazir fails, where so may before him have failed, the case then goes to the final court — the Tham's Audience Assembly (Thamo maraka). Here it is heard and adjudicated on for the last time by the Tham, the Wazir, and the elders and officials of every *khan* in council, and a final irrevocable order is passed. It is said that in recent years the Tham has dispensed with the presence of the elders and officials and gives judgement himself. But I imagine this would not apply in a case of major gravity. All "courts" are held in public.

It is thus the policy in Hunza that only matters of serious importance should be referred to the Ruler and that he should be regarded as a final court of appeal. In this way his prestige and authority are not impaired by the constant decision of minor disputatious or factious matters.

Character.

Of the character of the Burusho something has already been said in *obiter dicta* above. It may be summarily stated that the Hunzukuts are a cheerful, frank and straightforward people; intelligent, keen, and active, with a sense of fun and humour and a commendable spirit of tolerance. They are pleasant people to meet and work with. Among themselves they appear to be good-natured and forbearing, associating together in relaxation, and cooperating happily and amicably in work. They are fond of their children, but do not spoil them, and are considerate to the old or ailing.

For more than a month, while partially laid up, I have sat in the Rest House at Aliabad and from the verandah and through the windows seen the life of the place drift past me or concentrate in activity in the fields immediately in front. There is here no

garden, no fence, to interpose a barrier. The much-frequented public way, following the further edge of an irrigation channel, passes within a dozen yards and beyond lie the fields of lucerne, wheat, buckwheat and pot-herbs descending gently in graded terraces. But the ground is beaten hard right up to the verandah edge, and the more adventurous take full advantage of the right of way when they can do so without intrusiveness. So here, almost within touch, pass men, women and children on their various occasions, none without a salute or a smile, or at least a shy recognition. Fifty yards off toil a joint family party, successively reaping, stacking, threshing and winnowing the wheat and pulse crops and carrying off the spoils.

Work goes on harmoniously, without idleness and without hurry. Normally division of labour obtains, men and women have their recognised rôles, but the division seems regulated purely by physical capacity and convenience. There is nothing rigid about it and in general each sex will freely assume the work of the other if occasion makes it desirable. In this household there are only two men, one able-bodied on whom the heaviest work falls, and one aged who can only do light jobs and rest, intermittently. There are several women and they relieve each other at the heavier work seemingly from a sense of what is the game and without prompting. There is no apparent shirking, there is no quarrelling, disputing or shouting. I have not seen or heard a quarrel yet, except a minor affair between two small boys, Voices are only raised when information has to be conveyed to a distance.

Children roam about in groups of boys and girls, or mixed family parties, playing along the water-channel, chattering and laughing or retrieving the last over-looked apricots by knocking them down with stones or climbing and shaking the trees. Everyone shares without question in the harvest. Children help spasmodically in the elders' tasks; it is not obligatory. There are always one or two rounding up an errant and centrifugal flock of lambs and kids, or a single agile and enterprising cow.

And so life seems to go on. Even water rights, the turning of the carefully-husbanded water on to the land of the various groups in succession, appear to be exercised, according to the recognised scheme, by those concerned without recrimination. But at this season water is plentiful.

Women here hold a position of freedom and respect rare in the East. Young and old they move freely about, unveiled and unaccompanied. They mingle and converse quite naturally and unself-consciously with men. No doubt everyone knows everyone else and many are related. Young marriageable girls are as free and open-faced as the married women.

To the stranger within their gates, at any rate to the Sāhib and Mīm sāhiba, strayed out of another world, everyone is courteous and cordial, welcoming approach and questions, anxious to give information, amused at and appreciative of stumbling efforts to speak their difficult language, inviting them to their work parties in their fields or their leisure gatherings in their shady gardens. Always there is perfectly natural, self-respecting courtesy and good feeling, never that servility, false familiarity, self-assertiveness or aggressiveness characteristic of those who suffer from a sense of real or imagined inferiority.

This may appear a roseate, even idyllic picture, and no doubt there must be darker patches on the reverse side of it, but these do not appear to dim the general effect.

So much for the Hunzukuts Burusho. Of their Nagir neighbours I can say little. In casual contacts I have found them also friendly and courteous. The general impression is that they are not so actively cheerful as the Hunzukuts.

We may now turn our attention to the speakers of Werchikwār (Wərčikwaʳr). That language is spoken only in the Wershigūm valley, known as the Yasīn district from the name of the village adjoining the administrative headquarters. The linguistic situation existing in Yasīn is shown in the following table:

District	Number speaking			Total Population 1931 Census
	Werchikwār	Khowār	Shinā	
Yasīn . . .	7,518	230 (2,506)	336	8,084
Total . . .	7,518	230	336	8,084

The whole population of Yasīn, with the exception of small intrusive colonies of Shina and Khowar speakers, talk Werchikwar as their mother tongue. About one-third of these, it is estimated, have a greater or less command of Khowar, which has been the speech of their rulers for some generations. This bilingual minority is represented in the above table by the entry (2506).

The general physical circumstances of the Wershik are not widely dissimilar from those of the Burusho, but their country is much opener and easier in the habitable tracts, and it is much more accessible from the Gilgit valley than are Hunza and Nagir. On the cultural side it is believed that they share some of the festivals and customs of the Burusho, but their political history has been very different. So far as tradition goes back they have been under the domination of outsiders. For a number of generations they have now been continuously ruled by members of the Khushwaqt or Katōr families of Chitral.

The effects of this domination have been somewhat modified in later times by British control, but the traditions of the Wershik have not been those of a free and independent people able to treat with, ignore, or defy the outer world, but of a subject people existing to serve the interests of their foreign rulers. It is therefore not surprising, whatever their origin may be, if we fail to find among them the same spirit of self-respecting independence, frankness and cheerfulness that we have seen to characterise the Burusho of Hunza. In fact they are reputed to be shifty and untruthful. I am not personally in a position to support or rebut this charge, but in ordinary circumstances I have found them pleasant enough people to meet.

THE LANGUAGE.

Having described in some measure the country where Burushaski is spoken and the people who speak it, I must now give some account of the language itself and of the influences to which it has, at least in recent times, been subjected.

Burushaski[1] has no literature and is in fact an unwritten language. Obliging friends may have occasionally written Burushaski letters or texts in the Arabic script to humour enquiring foreigners such as Leitner or myself, but no convention has ever been arrived at to represent the sounds which are unknown to Arabic, Persian or Hindustani. When literate Burusho, and there are not many of them, have occasion to write, they do so in Persian for choice, or in Hindustani. The student of Burushaski has thus no manuscripts, ancient or modern, to turn to for enlightenment. He must go direct to the linguistic fountain-head — the *sujet parlant*. As far as contemporaneous speech is concerned, this is rather a blessing than a loss, but a series of manuscripts or inscriptions going back through some hundreds of years would throw an invaluable light on the development of the language. Lacking them, we cannot divine its history, nor make any guess as to its primitive forms. Only the co-existence of Werchikwar enables us sometimes to deduce that a word or form which occurs in the one as an isolated or rare phenomenon is a survival of what was once perhaps common property, or else normal in some dialect.

[1] I have never succeeded in getting anyone to recognise the word "Boorishki", the term applied to the language by Biddulph, and apparently accepted by Leitner, v. H. and N. Hdbk. p. 195 l. 2. Leitner also talks of the "Boorishki race". One cannot imagine that Biddulph and Leitner invented the term, so it would appear that it has gone out of use since their day. Possibly it may still flourish somewhere in Nagir. Leitner uses the term "Khajuna". This name is applied to Burushaski by outsiders and non-Burusho, as Leitner himself seems to admit (loc. cit.). I have heard the word used in Chalt, in opposition to Shina, by a man who was probably himself normally a Shina-speaker.

Burushaski and Werchikwar[1] are to be regarded as two dialects of one language of which no other dialects exist. The Burushaski of Hunza and Nagir, it is true, differ to some extent: there are differences in vocabulary and minor variations in morphology, but, as far as I am in a position to judge, these are not sufficient to constitute them separate dialects. Local variations occur inside Hunza itself: thus the people of Aliabad say "etoi" *he has done*, where the Baltitkuts say "etai". At present we do not know the full range of difference between Hunza and Nagir Burushaski, nor the number and extent of local variants in either, nor how far these are strictly local or possibly connote some difference of social status.

Burushaski and Werchikwar have both been subjected to outside influences, some of which must be of ancient standing, some of recent origin, but a glance at the vocabularies will impress one with how little either has borrowed from other languages and how large an original stock of words each has preserved. This can best be judged from the pronouns and from the number and variety of verbal conceptions which are expressed by undoubtedly native verbs. Both dialects seem to have presented a very resistant front to foreign intrusion. Even in these latter days, though many Arabic and Persian words are generally known, and though their use is convenient and probably increasing, they are not essential to the expression of ordinary ideas and many are not used by the common people.

Of contiguous languages Burushaski has been in direct contact with Shina and with Wakhi. The Qirgiz used to raid into the north of Hunza and have left behind them at least two place names: Mintaka and Aqtash (v. Text No. XXXI), but that seems to be all. Some contact with Baltistan, doubtless a very slight one, is to be

[1] "Werchikwar" appears to be analysable into: Werch- or Wersh- + ik + wār, of which Werch- is to be equated with the Wersh- of Wershigum; -ik- with the Khowar -ik added to place-names to denote the people of a place (e. g. Laspūr, Lasprīk); -wār with Khowar -wār denoting "language", as in the word itself Khowār, "the language of the Kho". The probable connection of Wersh- and Burush- is obvious.

presumed from the possession of a pattern of door known as "Baloski hing" (bʌloˑski hiŋ), and a method of thorn-fencing "Baloski chash" (bʌloˑski čaš). See also Text No. XXVIII. I have even been told that the Burusho believe that they acquired the whole of their material culture from Baltistan. Though there is no territorial contact with Khowar, an occasional surprising common property in words suggests questions.

The Qirgiz and Balti languages may at once be dismissed as sources of any perceptible influence on Burushaski, and, with infinitely greater opportunity, Wakhi seems to have been equally impotent to make any general impression on it. There remains Shina. Clearly there are borrowings from Shina to be found in the Burushaski vocabulary. Words with characteristic Shina prefixes and endings may be assumed to be Shina e. g. Bu. ʌ-baš, ʌ-ċɛˑmo, su-ċɛˑmo, ʌ-šato; adjectives ending in -aˑṭo, čʌməˑraˑṭo, ɣʌlišˑaˑṭo; abstract nouns ending in -aˑr, -i.aˑr, and -eˑi such as: dʌmijaˑr, šuri.aˑr, šuguleˑi etc. In Shina -o is a very common ending in nouns and the masculine singular of adjectives. Where such words are shared the probability lies that in Burushaski they are borrowings from Shina. Examples are: baˑgo, bʌskoˑčo, biḍiˑro. Sometimes the final -o is lacking in the Burushaski form. In such cases is the -o of Shina possibly an addition to a Burushaski word? Such are:

Bu.	ɣulk	Shn.	gulko	*covered water-tank*
	ɣuṭuˑm		guṭuˑmo	*deep*
	hisk		hɛˑsko	*loom*
	hukʌr		hukaˑro	*tamarisk*

Of undistinguished shared words it is for the Philologist to say whether they are of Indo-Aryan stock, and so presumably a contribution from Shina, or not. The same applies to similarities of a more radical character found in the sharing of syntactical practices and idiomatic usages, which seem to postulate direct translation from one language into the other. It is a fair hypothesis that such a process came into action at some time when the two languages were in intimate association, probably by intermarriage, after the

Shina-speaking stock had forced its way in among, or acquired domination over, an originally Burushaski-speaking population. To enumerate such similarities would require a treatise in itself, and in the Grammar I have purposely abstained from drawing comparisons with Shina, which would have taken up space and obscured the immediate issues. I may here just draw attention to a few points. V. § 43. There is much parallelism in the use of the Bu. suffix -ʌn and the Sh.- -ɛk, -k (ɛk = one), e. g. Sh. ɛk mʌnuˈjuˈk *a man*; aˈpuˈk *a little*; with pronouns: koˈuk *what person?*, jɛk-ɛk *something*, kʌčaˈk-ɛk *a certain number of*, cp. Bu. beˈrum-ʌn; with numerals: dai bai-ɛk *ten or a dozen*, biˈɛk *a score*. It is also used with the plural and so corresponds to the Bu. -ik. Employed with passive participles and verbal bases it replaces the indefinite by a definite sense. Thus: rai.ituk *the thing said* cp. Bu. sɛnumʌn; ãˈthi hʌnuk *the bones there are*, cp. Bu. mʌltʌš bilumʌn *the ghee there was*.

Points of similarity can also be found in the use of the case suffixes: Sh. jɛk čokɪj *how?*, cp. Bu. bɛlʌṭɛ. Sh. -ɪj = ʌjɛ is semantically parallel to Bu. -ʌṭɛ. Sh. abl. -jo, parallel to Bu. -tsum used with meaning *after* (of time). Among the pronouns, Sh. ɛk ɛk is parallel with Bu. hin hin *one another* v. § 134. Sh. baiyɛ *both* and buˈto pl. buˈtɛ *all* generally follow the noun: jʌk buˈtɛ *all the people*, cp. Bu. *-ʌltʌlik and *-joˈn, §§ 177—178.

There is a parallelism between the use of the Sh. ga, gɛ and the Bu. kɛ with the indefinite pronouns when the verb is in the negative e. g. Sh. jɛga nɪš, Bu. bɛsʌn kɛ api *it is nothing*, v. §§ 148—154 and 333.

The higher numeral system of both languages is based on the score (20). In compound verbal expressions there is much parallelism in the use of the verbs *to come*, Sh. wai.oˈɪki Bu. juˈyʌs; *to bring*, Sh. wʌloˈɪki and aṭoˈɪki, Bu. d*-tsʌs, dusuˈyʌs, suˈyʌs, v. §§ 261 ff. and 266, also in some other cases. These seem to be translations.

Parallelism of use can also be noted in some independent verbs e.g. Sh. nɪkhai.oˈɪki, Bu. duˈsʌs, *to come out, go out, get out, escape;*

to cross (*a river*; etc.) *to climb up; to win* (*in a game*). Both languages use the interrogative suffix -a with verbs, and use it in the same way, v. § 340.

There seems to be some parallelism in the verb *to be able*, Sh. boˈɪki, which also means *to be, become*, and the Bu. *-ʌmʌnʌs which is presumably related to mʌnaˈs, v. § 298.6. Cp. also Kho. bik.

The Conditional particles Sh. tsɪk and Bu. tsɛ, Wer. tsɪk are largely similarly employed.

The extensive use of the past participle active and its employment as a connective are common to both languages. Sh. thɛ *having said*, is used to close a quotation, exactly as the Bu. nusɛn, v. § 367. Cp. Kho. rɛ.

Sh. thoˈɪki and Bu. ɛtʌs, both meaning primarily *to do*, are always used for *to speak* (*a language*), and the Sh. constantly, and the Bu. sometimes, for *to say*.

There are correspondences in the use of the Sh. passive and static participles and the Bu. static participle, cp. rai.ituk mentioned above, also the active use in Sh. rai.ito mʌnuˈjo *a man who has read* i.e. *a literate man*, v. § 378. b. With §§ 379. b. and 460 cp. Sh. wʌto o mʌnuˈjo *the man who has come*.

The infinitive is used in Shina as in Burushaski with case suffixes, v. § 392. I. Curiously, the Sh. locative form in -ər in used in the same way as the Bu. dative form in -ər, as described in § 395 d. Is this a case of adoption? The same phenomenon is seen in the Sh. ʌčaˈkər and the Bu. teˈrumʌnər, both expressing in the same way, *at this point, thereupon, then*, v. § 409.1.

As in Bu. so in Sh. the same or approximately the same form functions as infinitive, inflectable verbal noun, noun-agent and gerundive(?): thoˈɪki, thoˈk, *to do, doing* (noun); thoˈɪkɛjo fʌtu *after doing* (*it*); thoˈɪkɛt čʌk *ready to do it;* mʌs doˈɪki ʌsulusus *I was a giver, prepared to give;* mʌs thoˈkunus, tus thoˈkuno, roˈs thoˈkun *I am to, have to, must do, thou must do, he must do;* ʌšpɛ kuˈrɛ kərpa thoˈkun *it is necessary to cut the horse's hoofs, its hoofs are to be cut;* ʌšpič tilɛn doˈkun (doˈɪki) *the saddle is to be put on the horse.*

In Sh. mʌṭ lɛl hʌn-ɪj *on its being known to me* i.e. *with my knowledge*, mʌt lɛl nuš-ɪj *without my knowledge*, the use of the suffix -ɪj (ʌjɛ = *on*) may be compared with that of Bu. -ʌṭɛ in ayɛtum-ʌṭɛ etc. in § 384, and the combination of the base hʌn with a case suffix, with oˈni-tsum and ʌsqʌn-ʌṭɛ in § 407. b. and c.

The use of the past participle active of the verb *to do* in Bu. to form adverbial expressions is to be compared with the similar Sh. use of the ppc. of thoˈɪki viz. *thɛ*, e.g. loˈko thɛ *quickly*, mišto thɛ *well*, Bu. yər nɛ *forwards*, šu.a nɛ *well*, v. § 416. But while the Sh. adverbs so formed are usually Adverbs of Manner, those of Burushaski are mainly Adverbs of Place.

There is also much parallelism in the use of the Sh. particle *to* and the Bu. particle *kɛ* with temporal clauses and the protases of conditional sentences.

Some correspondences of a like nature can also be traced in Khowar.

Burushaski has also been in contact with certain foreign languages which geographically do not lie adjacent to it. These are Panjabi and Dogri, Hindustani, Persian and Arabic. One main point of contact has been provided by the Gilgit bazar, the marketing centre of Hunza and Nagir, where the shops are manned by a mixed crew of Panjabis, Kashmiris and local people, and are frequented by the Dogras of the garrison of Kashmir State Troops and the servants of local officials. Local people are also employed by various public departments, such as the Public Works Department, the Posts and Telegraphs and the Indian Army Service Corps, whose officials talk Hindustani. There are always a considerable number of Burusho resident in the Gilgit Wazārat, and small numbers are to be found in Srinagar and down country, even in Bombay.

Contact again is provided by the corps of Gilgit Scouts. Hunza and Nagir both provide two companies of 80 men each, who come up to Gilgit for training for a month (recently increased to two months) each year. Here they are trained by one or two British Officers, whose medium of communication is Hindustani, and they must thus pick up a certain limited Hindustani vocabulary.

A third point of contact is provided by the Schools attended by a very limited number of boys chiefly of the upper classes. Elementary instruction in reading and writing Hindustani in the Arabic script is obtainable in Baltit and Nagir. A small number of boys proceed to the Anglo-Vernacular Middle School in Gilgit, where they learn Urdu and Persian, and can make a beginning on English up to the VIIIth. Standard. A few of the sons of the *élite* now go for two or three years to the State College in Srinagar, where they can carry their studies to the point of passing the B. A. examination in English. But as yet there are no Burusho B. A.'s.

From all these encounters people return to their homes, temporarily or for good, bringing with them some degree of linguistic acquirement, and an enlarged, not necessarily improved, view of life. A few in recent times have brought with them some foreign accomplishment, tailoring, clothes-washing or, petty trading and shopkeeping.

One great source of extraneous culture remains to be mentioned: the Islamic Tradition, which carries with it many kinds of lore and knowledge not directly religious. What exactly it connotes in any given case would be a complicated subject of research, on which I have made no attempt to embark, but it is probable that what Ismailism has brought to Hunza does not exactly tally with what Shiahism has brought to Nagir. What comes in the way of doctrine, history, legend and language (Arabic terms) directly through mullahs and religious teachers, where they exist, and what is transmitted by the ordinary intercourse of Muslims of all nationalities and in all places? It is by the latter route presumably that folk tales such as Texts I, II and III have found their way into Hunza and Nagir. I think it may also be assumed that the bulk of Arabic words current in Burushaski have been acquired through the medium of Persian and Hindustani, or have filtered through Shina.

The people of Yasin have had less numerous external contacts than those of Hunza and Nagir. They have also, I think, sent

fewer youths to be educated. On the other hand they have for many years been in very close contact with one foreign language, Khowar, which has been brought to their doors, and for many into their daily lives This is reflected to some extent in the Werchikwar vocabulary as far as it is known, but I do not know enough to say anything definite about morphological and structural analogies between the two languages.

Earlier Work on Burushaski and Werchikwar by Europeans.

The only original work of importance done in the past on Burushaski is that published by Col. J. Biddulph in 1880 (revised 1884) and by Dr. G. W. Leitner in 1889. In the Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. VIII their results are revised and summarised and a version of the parable of the Prodigal Son is added. Biddulph's work is sound as far as it goes, but it is only a brief sketch. There are 22 8vo. pages of Grammar, 4 pages of sentences and texts and 20 pages of Burushaski-English Vocabulary. He deals with the Nagir dialect which he calls "Boorishki" (v. footnote p. XVIII). Leitner in his "Hunza and Nagir Handbook", 1889, also principally describes the Nagir dialect. He collected a considerable vocabulary, extensive paradigms and a large mass of miscellaneous information, all of which he presents unfortunately in an ill-digested and unsystematic manner. His translations are often so loose as to suggest that he did not fully understand his texts, and naturally errors are not lacking.[1]

In both Biddulph's and Leitner's Vocabularies a considerable number of Shina words are to be found. This is probably characteristic af Nagir Burushaski, which has always been more exposed to infection by Shina than the Hunza speech.[2]

[1] It would be unwise to express a final judgment on Leitner's work without checking it through in detail with the assistance of Burushaski speakers, which I have not done.

[2] Cp. also the Bibliography in LSI, Vol. VIII, 1, p. 551. — Manuscript vocabularies compiled by B. L. Grombchevskiy and M. S. Andreev are in the possession of the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy.

In the past Werchikwar has received even less attention than Burushaski. The Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. VIII contains a brief notice of it and a version of the parable of the Prodigal Son furnished by an Indian Official, Khan Sahib Abdul Hakim. Recently, however, I. I. Zarubin has furnished in Russian a valuable description of the language (v. § 500 below), to which he appends a vocabulary and a detailed criticism of the L. S. I. "Prodigal Son", which appears just, as far as I have examined it.

The Present Work.

The world has recently been presented with works on little-known Indian languages which represent the knowledge and labour of half a life-time. Such are Hoffmann's "Encyclopaedia Mundarica" and Bodding's Santali Dictionary. The present work makes no pretence to such a foundation. It represents merely an endeavour to squeeze the contents out of such material as I was able to collect hurriedly in a short time, and to arrange and present it in a systematic manner, so that it may be conveniently available to the student.

In September 1920 I took over charge as Political Agent, Gilgit, and remained there till September 1924. During the greater part of the first three years I devoted my spare time to the Shina and Khowar languages and it was only in May 1923 that I added to these Burushaski. From then until July 1924 it somewhat interruptedly received a portion of my attention. In 1921 my wife had made a start on Burushaski, working for two or three weeks with Gushpūr Maḥbūb ʿAli Khān, son of the Mir of Nagir, a bright and intelligent youth. I now turned to her work and gained some idea from it of the principal features of the language, the use of pronominal prefixes, the four "genders" and the main lines of inflexion. Otherwise I started from zero, as I did not wish at this point possibly to prejudice my openness of mind by having recourse to Biddulph and Leitner. In the event I never consulted them at all while I was in Gilgit.

My mode of procedure was as follows, and in all the circumstances it seems to have justified itself. For a few weeks I worked with Nazer of Aliabad, head of my establishment of domestic servants, eliciting from him the principal inflectional forms of the language as well as the chief pronominal forms and the numerals. Nazer, though illiterate, was a man with excellent brains and the instincts of a teacher and elucidator, and Hindustani provided a medium of intercourse. After this I secured the services of Imām Yār Bèg, brother of the Wazir of Hunza and a Jemadar in the Gilgit Scouts, and began to take down texts to his dictation. Each day I wrote down as much as I had time to, making every effort to record the sounds phonetically as far as I was able to appreciate them, and to make sure of the division of the words. I did not make a point of fully following and understanding what I wrote. The same day, or the next working-day, I read out to him what I had written, corrected it as far as I could from every point of view and strove to arrive at the exact meaning of every word and sentence. I made notes of the translation and obtained the principal parts of verbs, the plural forms of nouns and so on, and recorded other words and phrases that were suggested by those of the text.

All this was very hurriedly done, but the results have in general proved satisfactory and the texts themselves seem to be readily intelligible to Burushaski-speakers when read aloud to them. They will often complete a sentence and continue the narrative, where it is short, in much the same words as the original, for though there are no professional story-tellers in Hunza, many of the local stories or accounts of customs appear to be told habitually in a customary, if not stereotyped form.

Imam Yar Beg was a man of first-rate intelligence, great energy and a forceful personality. His own tastes ran naturally to sport and the practical. He was an enthusiastic and skilled polo player and I fear linguistic enquiries must sometimes have bored him, but he stayed the course until at length he unfortunately fell ill a month or two before I left the country. In that month or two,

of course, everything was going to have been checked and corrected and much additional information was going to have been obtained — an impossible programme!

Simultaneously with the writing of the texts I ran through an extensive list of common English words and obtained as far as possible their Burushaski equivalents by direct enquiry. This method helps to fill up unexpected hiatuses which will always be found in the vocabulary obtained from any moderate body of texts and casual information. It works well enough with nouns that are the names of material objects and with the simpler direct verbal conceptions. As a sole method, with an imperfectly-known common language as medium of communication, it would be quite unsatisfactory.

Also, in desperation, to make the most of the time available, I adopted a still less satisfactory expedient. I commissioned Imam Yar Beg's elder brother, 'Ināyatullah Bèg, to write out for me a list of all the Burushaski words and proverbs he could think of with explanations in Hindustani. He had some months in which to do this. I gave him for the purpose a large number of slips, each to be used for a single word, of which the vital inflected forms were also to be given. Unfortunately I was not able to convey my instructions by word of mouth and IUB devoted himself to a paper-economy campaign, writing as many words in pencil in a small hand on each slip as he could cram on to it. The result was almost illegible. I handed these slips over to Shāhzāda Yūsuf of Yasin to re-write. He had an adequate knowledge of Burushaski and non-literate Burusho at hand to consult. With great industry he rewrote all the words on separate slips, adding in some cases Roman transliterations of his own. This did not suffice, however, to distinguish with any certainty a from ā, i from e and u from o, nor to exclude ambiguity in the case of some other sounds.

All this material, which contained much that was new to me, I was unable to examine till years later when in England and unable to obtain help. Another very difficult manuscript with which I

England I settled down first to translating the texts and working out the vocabulary, and then to an intensive comparative study of every word and every grammatical form occurring in my material. On this basis I then prepared and annotated the Texts and drew up the Grammar and Vocabulary as they now stand. This took in all four and a half years, from January 1926 to June 1930.

I have dwelt at some length on my methods of work, because without such knowledge it is impossible for the reader to form any just estimate of the degree of authority to which the book can lay claim. For the same reason I have made a free use of question marks in the Vocabulary and elsewhere to indicate points in regard to which my information is uncertain. I hope I have stated nothing as a fact except on reasonably adequate grounds.

The whole edifice stands essentially on the foundation of Jemadar Imam Yar Beg's Burushaski, a foundation the general reliability of which I think no one in Hunza would dream of questioning. But this statement requires serious qualification: it is IYB's Burushaski as affected by the mishearings and misunderstandings of the recorder. That there are such I have not the slightest doubt. I am only surprised that the substance of the Texts has worked out so homogeneous and, as I have now some ground for believing, so correct.

A special word of warning should be given in regard to the Phonetics. I am myself no phonetician and made no constant systematic attempt to distinguish by all means at my command between different sounds which sooner or later I knew to exist, but could not myself certainly distinguish This applies specially to the two parallel series of cerebrals and non-cerebrals, aspirates and non-aspirates. Many cerebrals and aspirates may have escaped undetected; I can only say that where a sound is marked as cerebral or aspirate, it may safely be assumed to be such.

My general aim in the preparation of this work is now sufficiently evident; it is simply to give a perfectly objective view of what I was able to ascertain about the language. I have created a hypothesis

only where it seemed necessary to attain brevity and clarity in the statement of facts. Such is my theory of the initial *-ʌ- of many nouns and verbal bases, and the combination of it with the pronominal prefixes. Otherwise I have avoided speculation in realms outside my competence. I have raised no questions of the relationship between Burushaski and other languages and I have also intentionally omitted to point out many parallels in grammatical usage and idiom between Burushaski and the adjacent, though non-related, languages Shina and Khowar. In the Vocabulary on the other hand I have noted when the same word, or obviously a form of the same word, is in use in those languages. I have done this because I believe that many of these Shina and Khowar words have not before been recorded, and even when they have been, will not always be readily accessible to the reader.

As I have eschewed questions of relationship, so for still better reasons I have abstained from any attempt to propound linguistic theories of a more general nature. With less certain virtue I have also failed to supply any new grammatical terminology. Another terminology than that of my boyhood's reminiscences of Latin Grammar is certainly needed to describe the phenomena of Burushaski. I do not know that such exists, and I have thought it wise to leave this thorny matter to hardened experts and not to complicate the issues by amateur attempts which would only prove a stone of offence.

The principal work that remains to be done for Burushaski as I see it is:

1. To make a scientific determination of the phonetic system.
2. To clear up existing grammatical problems and to discover more.
3. To ascertain the relative frequency of various syntactical usages. Some which in my material occur rarely are probably in fact common enough.
4. To make a parallel study of Nagiri Burushaski and local variations in phonetics and vocabulary.

5. To complete the vocabulary and to collect obsolete and obsolescent words. There are a multitude of general terms to be collected, while there is undoubtedly an immense field of "technical" terms, in the widest sense, to be covered.

In this last task the most fruitful line of approach will be by the way of anthropological interests and anthropological methods. Burushaski also appears to have a great facility in the metaphorical use of specific words, especially verbs. These uses can only be educed with time, patience and experience.

To these various subjects for enquiry, except the first, I now hope to be able to make some contribution.

Self-determination and luck have brought me again, after ten years, to the land of the Burusho, in the midst of whom, at Aliabad in Hunza EOL and I are now living. This luck I owe "first", as they would say here "to the grace of God", and then to the "kindness" of the Trustees of the Leverhulme Research Fellowship Fund, who have granted me substantial financial assistance. It is a short time spent again with Burushaski-speakers that has enabled me to say above that the Texts and Grammar appear to be generally sound beyond my dreams. This does not at all mean that they are impeccable.

How much can now be done will again be governed by the time factor — the harvest is ripe, but the labourers are few.

But this is anticipating.

Meanwhile in what concerns the present work there remains to me the pleasure of paying many debts of very genuine gratitude. To the Tham of Hunza, Sir Muhammad Nazim Khan, K. C. I. E., I have paid my tribute in the Dedication. To him I owe much personal kindness and hospitality and also the services of IYB over a long period. The Burushaski of the Dedication, I may say, has been constrained with much expert advice to an unprecedented use.

Next I have to thank my active collaborators, to whom ultimately everything is due, Jemadar Imam Yar Beg, Inayat Ullah Beg,

Shahzada Yusuf and Nazar. Further I would very specially thank my friend, Khan Sahib Muhammad Masih Pāl, in my time and still, Indian Assistant to the Political Agent, Gilgit, for many and various services extending over a number of years.

To Professor Georg Morgenstierne's inspiration and good offices this work owes its appearance in print, for he introduced and sponsored it to the Directors of the Norwegian Instituttet For Sammenlignende Kulturforskning who have honoured me by approving it and publishing it at the expense and under the aegis of the Institute. I should like here to express my sincere and cordial thanks to the Institute and its Directors. With great unselfishness Professor Morgenstierne has also spent no little valuable time and much patience on matters connected with proofs and printing. He promises to crown his kindness by contributing a Preface.

Finally my thanks are due, as always, to my Wife for steadfast encouragement, judicious but unvexatious criticism, and unstinted typing, each of which contributions is in its way equally essential to my continued functioning.

Aliabad, Hunza,
1st September 1934.

D. L. R. L.